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ABSTRACT

An evaluation by the Center for Urban Education of the College Careers Program (CCP), operated by the College Careers Fund of Westchester, Inc., CCP is designed to identify, recruit, motivate, and place educationally "disadvantaged" young adults in carefully selected institutions of higher learning and to provide them with all necessary support, financial and other, to sustain them in school. This report deals with: (1) research design and procedures; (2) the targeted areas in the Westchester school district; (3) the problem of vocational education as an alternative response to the needs of disadvantaged youth; (4) a description of the CCP; (5) results of the evaluation; and, (6) summary and recommendations. Also included are appendices containing remedial programs in many New England communities and a listing of institutions of higher learning attended by College Careers participants in 1969-70. (Author/SB)

COLLEGE CAREERS PROGRAM EVALUATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

COLLEGE CAREERS PROGRAM EVALUATION

INTRODUCTION

This document is an evaluation by the Center for Urban Education of the College Careers Program (CCP), operated by the College Careers Fund of Westchester, Inc. The CCP is designed to identify, recruit, motivate, and place educationally "disadvantaged" young adults in carefully selected institutions of higher learning and to provide them with all necessary support, financial and other, to sustain them in school.

CCP is one attempt to ameliorate a massive national social problem, that of severely unequal opportunity for 18 to 25 year old black and Puerto Rican young adults. Central to this lack of opportunity for minority group youths is their inability to obtain post-secondary education. Such education, in the opinion of the Center evaluation team, will be a virtual requirement for good employment opportunities for young adults in the national economy of the 1970s.

Currently, places in colleges and universities are reserved for those young adults who have completed "college preparatory" programs in high school. Unless means are developed to bridge the gap between "non-college bound" type high school programs, on the one hand, and post-secondary admission requirements, on the other, this situation cannot be expected to change.

For the most part, vocational education in our urban and suburban school systems is grossly inadequate. The skills taught are often not in demand on the job market. Equipment used in instruction is often obsolete. (Middle-class youths, who are educationally advantaged, are more likely than their "disadvantaged" counterparts to successfully complete demanding technical training needed to secure well-paying jobs in today's labor market.)

The number of blacks and Puerto Ricans between the ages of 18 and 25 grew by 250 percent between 1950 and 1970 in this country. At the same time, the number of openings in industry and business for high school graduates shrunk substantially. Moreover, persistent racial discrimination makes it twice as difficult for black and Puerto Rican high school graduates to obtain jobs as white high school dropouts.[1]

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

The extent of the Center for Urban Education evaluation study was limited by time and money. These factors obliged the evaluation team to confine itself to a "one shot case study," with no "before" and "after" testing.

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[1]A summary of evidence supporting this contention appears in Big City Dropouts by Robert A. Dentler and Mary Ellen Warshauer (Frederick Praeger, New York, 1967).

Interviews with all CCP staff members, and with 20 participants, were conducted. Two groups of participants were interviewed for two hours each. The Director and the two Counsellors were interviewed as a group on one occasion. At a second interview, the Assistant Director joined the other three staff members. Both interviews lasted over an hour-and-a-half. All interviews took place in conference rooms or offices made available to the CCP by an architectural firm.

The interviews did not follow a set format. Once a dialogue was established between members of the evaluation team and the persons being interviewed, the former elicited responses and probed answers in matters related directly to program operation and to the objective situation in the County. Both staff members and participants were very candid in their comments about CCP.

One member of the evaluation team arranged to be present in the offices of the CCP for extensive periods of time. This offered the Center additional insights into the daily functioning of the program.

A questionnaire (SEE Appendix C) for young adults connected with the Program was distributed by CCP staff to all participants who were at home for the summer. Questionnaires were filled out by the young adults and returned directly to the Center for Urban Education in an attached, stamped envelope. Ninety-five participants out of about 160 available returned the questionnaire.

This evaluation instrument was designed so that it might be used as part of a "longitudinal study"; that is, in a manner allowing different populations to be tested at different stages or cycles of the program at a later time. This should permit future evaluators to get at the question of whether or not the desired effect was the result of Program activities.

The evaluation team had access to all records of the CCP. The financial records of the Program were in excellent order, a fact attested to in the breakdown of costs located under "FINANCES" in the "FINDINGS" section of this document. Records of contact between participants and staff members were very incomplete. Little can be gleaned from "Participant Files" that was not collected for use in admission or aid applications. No general form seems to be used by staff members to record contact with participants. This handicapped the evaluation effort in that it prevented confirmation of information obtained in interviews and questionnaires.

THE WESTCHESTER COUNTY ECONOMY

Westchester County is the most affluent county in the state of New York and one of the most affluent in the nation. In recent years, the County has been increasingly integrated into the New York metropolitan complex. The combination of available land, a sophisticated labor force, a good highway system, and local cooperation has prompted many corporations to set up business offices and manufacturing facilities in what

once was strictly a "bedroom" area. During the decade of the 1960s, Westchester enjoyed substantial growth in every occupational category due primarily to a rapidly expanding population and a corresponding influx of all types of business.[2]

Job openings were at high levels throughout the 1969 fiscal year. The largest concentrations of hard-to-fill openings, those on State Employment Agency Files for 30 days or more, were found in professional, technical and managerial, and some (highly skilled) industrial occupations. Although many of the openings were for engineering and data processing personnel, the most severe shortages were among secondary school teachers and administrators, and social and welfare workers. These positions cannot be filled by persons with low skills and low educational attainment.

Critical shortages of clerical help, such as typists and stenographers, were also experienced. High demand was also recorded for service jobs (waitresses, waiters, porters, cleaners, and domestics). Service jobs are often low paying, offer little opportunity for advancement, have unpleasant working conditions, and, not surprisingly, high turnover rates. Many service and clerical positions are traditionally held by females and in most cases are not considered prestigious occupations.

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[2]All data in this section has been taken from the Annual Manpower Planning Report, Fiscal Year 1971 for the Westchester-Rockland Area, New York. New York State Department of Labor, Division of Employment, arch and Statistics Office.

Some 10,500 jobs are expected to open up in Westchester between fiscal years 1969 and 1971. About 3,000 of the openings will be for professional and technical workers. Most of these will be in education and health services. About the same number of clerical jobs are expected to open up, if higher wages and the lowering of employer requirements are used to overcome existing shortages. Service occupations should become the fastest growing occupation with 2,800 new jobs in the County during this period.

Demand for blue collar skills experienced good growth during the 1960s, but declined in proportion to other occupational categories. White collar and service jobs are again expected to take precedence over blue collar jobs in fiscal 1970 and 1971.

Although employment opportunities have generally been good, the greatest demand and the fastest growing areas have been in white collar jobs. Lack of skills and low educational attainment therefore limit access of blacks and Puerto Ricans to these occupations.

If tight money prevails in fiscal 1970 and 1971 and if, as a result, job growth slackens, the impact on minorities is expected to be disproportionately greater. Of course, the problems of lack of skills and low educational attainment are compounded by limited work experience and racial prejudice. Women often find the lack of child care facilities an important stumbling block to obtaining employment. Outside of the main population centers, transportation is another problem.

Underutilization of the labor force, rather than unemployment, then, is the prime problem in the Westchester employment picture. Persons in the underutilized category include those working part time who want full-time work; those employed full-time whose income is near, at, or below the poverty level; and those persons not participating in the labor force who should be.[3]

Poverty Level: Westchester-Rockland Area

Family Size	Poor, non-farm, family annual income not in excess of	Non-farm family near poverty
1	$ 1,600	$ 1,985
2	2,100	2,855
3	2,600	3,425
4	3,300	4,345
5	3,900	5,080
6	4,400	5,700
7	4,900	6,300
8	5,400	6,900
9	5,900	7,500
10	6,400	8,100
11	6,900	8,700
12	7,400	9,300
13	7,900	9,900

[3]The poverty level is defined according to annual family income, place of residence (farm or non-farm), and the number of members in the family. Families receiving cash welfare payments are designated as "poor" regardless of the amount of family income they receive. The near poor are members of families with annual incomes not more than one-third above the poverty level.

By far the most serious underutilization problem is that of the full-time worker, who earns so little that he is in or near poverty. There are presently about 33,700 such persons in Westchester County, of whom 18,500 are "disadvantaged."[4]

Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who comprise about 13 percent of Westchester's population, will continue to experience a disproportionate share of the economic deprivation in the County. For example, in fiscal 1971, they are expected to make up over 18 percent of those employed full-time whose incomes are near, at, or below the poverty level. Blacks and Puerto Ricans are expected to form 19 percent of those employed part-time who desire full-time work in fiscal 1971.

THE TARGET AREAS

Most of Westchester's school districts serve the children of middle-class and upper middle-class neighborhoods. Of the 52 school districts in the County, 18 have substantial numbers of poor residents. These 18 districts are the "target areas" of the College Careers Program.

Thirty-five percent of the target areas' total population is black, 8 percent Puerto Rican, and 1 percent Oriental or Cuban. The remaining 56 percent is white. Many of the whites are what Don Mulaney, County

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[4]An individual is regarded as disadvantaged if he is poor, unemployed or underutilized, and at least one of the following:

1. a school dropout
2. a minority group member
3. under 22 years of age
4. 45 years of age or older
5. handicapped

Coordinator of Occupational Education, calls "melting pot whites," members of ethnic communities tied together by culture and low incomes.[5] The average income for a family of five in the target areas was under $5,000 in 1969, and the unemployment rate was 15 percent.[6]

By way of contrast, 86 percent of the entire County's population is white, 10 percent is black, 3 percent is Puerto Rican, and 1 percent is Oriental or Cuban. Median income for a family in the County was $8,052 in 1969, and the unemployment rate was 3.3 percent.

About 48 percent of those students who enter grade 9 in the target areas do not graduate from high school. (The rate for the County as a whole is 16 percent). Ten percent drop out in grade 9, 20 percent in grade 10, 10 percent in grade 11, and 8 percent in grade 12. The annual average number of high school dropouts for the last five years in the target areas was 1,380.

Some 15 percent of the high school students who graduate from facilities in the target areas go on to vocational or technical institutions, and 18 percent go on to colleges or universities. In contrast, the affluent Scarsdale district sends 1 or 2 percent of its high school graduates to

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[5]Quotations in this section were obtained in an interview with Mr. Mulaney on June 15, 1970 at the office of the College Careers Program in White Plains, New York.

[6]Sources of the statistics in this section include the County Coordinator of Occupational Education, the New York State Department of Labor, the Westchester Council of Social Agencies, the Westchester County Department of Planning, and the Westchester County Department of Welfare.

vocational (trade or skill) schools, 10 percent to technical (e.g. engineering) schools, and 85 percent to colleges and universities. About 60 to 70 percent of high school graduates in Westchester County as a whole enter two-year or four-year colleges, though only one-half of these complete a four-year program.

IS VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AN ALTERNATIVE RESPONSE?

Many educators believe that vocational and technical courses of instruction are the best way to raise the earning power of "disadvantaged" and other "non-college bound" students. The College Careers Program (CCP) is based on the theory that providing technical and vocational education for these students shortchanges some of them by failing to properly evaluate their interests and abilities. College Careers does not operate under the assumption that a liberal arts education at a four-year institution is suitable for all young adults; but rather that some students channelled into "non-college bound" courses are restricted in their occupational goals, not necessarily in accordance with their interests and abilities.

Schools in Westchester County offer a variety of vocational and technical courses. There are the general or basic courses that include a "watered down" academic schedule and the traditional "shop" and "home economics" offerings. At the high school level, both prevocational and vocational programs are given. A vocational course of studies differs

from prevocational work in that a vocational program must be taught for more than two consecutive hours a day, five days a week. Then, too, there is occupational education which is usually a post-secondary course of study. Trades (e.g. plumbing and carpentry), industrial skills, health services (e.g. dental assistant), and business skills (e.g. data processing) are types of occupational education.

Four vocational education centers are being established in Westchester; a northeastern area center (built around BOCES I, Board of Cooperative Educational Services), a mid-Westchester center (built around BOCES II), a southeastern center for Mount Vernon and New Rochelle, and a southwestern center in Yonkers. The BOCES facilities provide central vocational training centers for member school districts. About 14 school districts belong to each BOCES District. Students in the BOCES program spend half a day at their home schools and are bused in for half a day at the BOCES center. East BOCES offers more than 25 occupationally designed vocational education courses chosen on the basis of job openings in the County. These same courses will be duplicated in all of the area centers.

The fact that about one-half of all BOCES graduates are offered jobs by January of their senior year indicates the quality of the courses, but BOCES is undersubscribed to by blacks.

One quarter of the 6,000 students in the County who are enrolled in high school vocational programs (at BOCES I and II, and at Saunders Commerce High School in Yonkers) go on to colleges and universities. Changing college admission requirements have facilitated this trend. (As noted previously, 60 to 70 percent of high school graduates in the County as a whole enter two-year or four-year colleges.)

Many policy makers and employers in Westchester are strong believers in vocational education as an avenue to success for minority youths. Indeed, vocational education is often a way of getting a college degree because many large corporations are willing to pay for continuing education of skilled employees. These corporations include IBM, Con Edison, A.T. & T., General Foods, Nestles, and Gestetner, all of which have plants in the County.

There is no doubt in the minds of the evaluation team that some of the vocational (as opposed to general or prevocational) training offered in the County is of superior quality.

However, vocational education seems to carry with it for many youth a stigma of failure, particularly within Westchester. Students in these courses of instruction are often considered and consider themselves to be "slow." "Non-college bound" students carry the label "inferior." They are the youths who could not "make it" in the reputedly more demanding academic courses of instruction.

Furthermore, the needs and desires of the "non-college bound" student, a disproportionate number of whom are members of minority groups, are often only poorly understood by guidance counsellors and teachers. In Westchester high schools, there is, on the average, one guidance counsellor for every 350 students. Unexceptional students all too often "escape" the notice of counsellors, who are most concerned with "talented" youngsters and with "troublemakers."

The minority youth is less likely to be channelled into a college preparatory program, and thus his chances of going on to a post-secondary institution are decidedly poorer. Oftentimes, he is not enrolled in the vocational programs described above, but rather in general or prevocational courses of instruction. He may obtain a high school degree without having acquired marketable skills. His chances of joining the ranks of the "unemployed" or "underutilized" are decidedly greater. In any case, he is being channelled, for the most part, into programs that train him for less prestigious jobs that are in relatively declining demand in the region's economy.

College Careers has been designed with exactly this problem in mind.

COLLEGE CAREERS PROGRAM DESCRIBED

The College Careers Program is run out of two small offices donated by the architectural firm of Perkins and Will, in White Plains. Counsellors

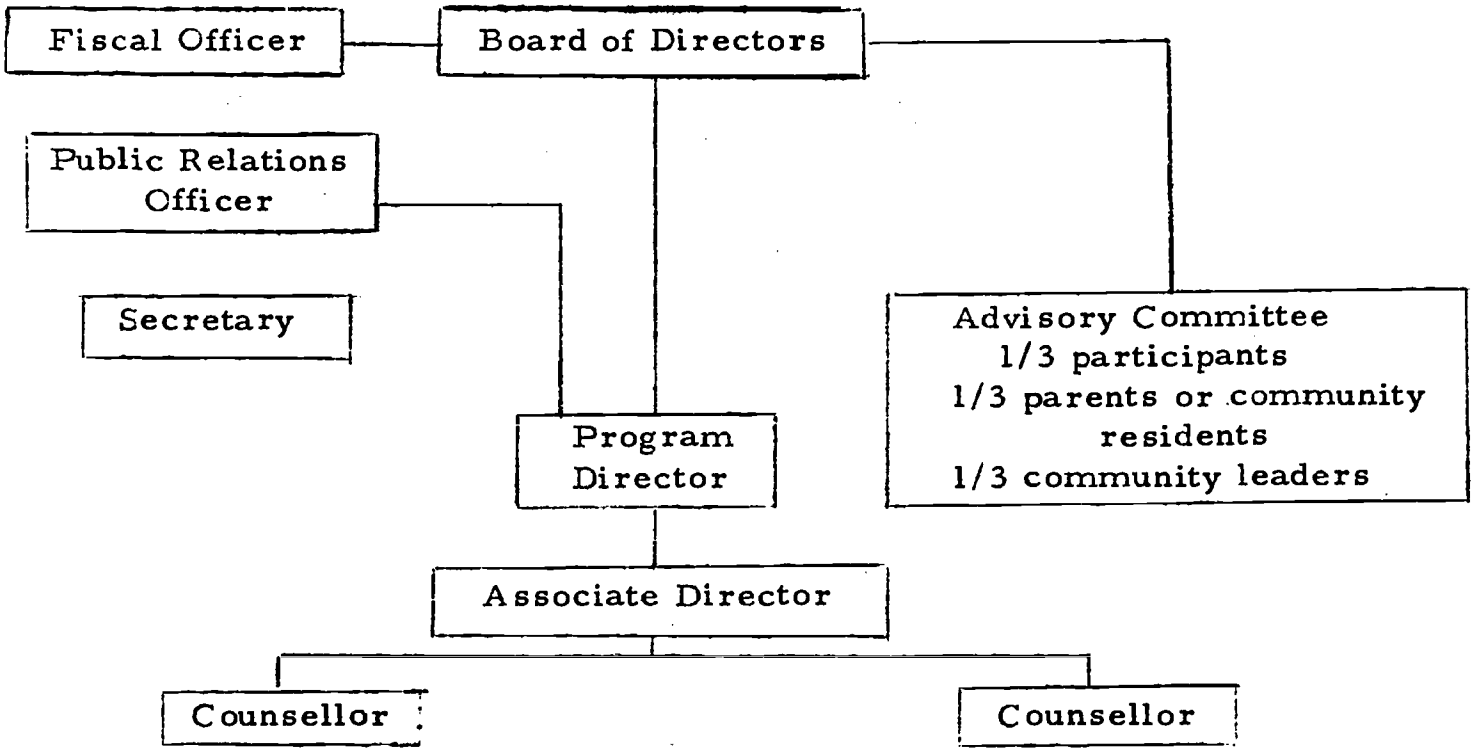
cars and Neighborhood Youth Corps district headquarters serve as offices for other areas including Tuckahoe, Ossining, Mount Vernon, Mamaroneck, Peekskill, Tarrytown and New Rochelle.

CCP is presently staffed by a Director and Associate Director, both full-time employees; two part-time Counsellors, who handle their CCP tasks in addition to Youth Corps jobs; Public Relations Officer, and a secretary. The Director and Associate Director, as well as both Counsellors, handle full caseloads of young adults. The Public Relations Officer coordinates fund raising.

The Director and the Public Relations Officer are white females. The Associate Director and both Counsellors are black males. The secretary is a black female.

In addition to the immediate staff, CCP has a Board of Directors, whose primary responsibility is policy-making and fund raising, and Advisory Committee composed of equal numbers of participants in the Program, parents or community residents and "community leaders", and a Fiscal Officer or treasurer.

COLLEGE CAREERS PROGRAM



The Director, who has her M.A., has taught at the college level, supervised recreation programs for the "disadvantaged," headed various interracial groups organized to foster better community relations, and has served as Director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Westchester and as Manpower Coordinator for the Westchester Community Opportunity Program, Inc.

The Associate Director, who is working on his M.A., has held many counselling and coordinating positions in community action type programs, and has also served as Manpower Coordinator for the Westchester Community Opportunity Program, Inc.

Both counsellors work as counsellors in the Neighborhood Youth Corps projects in Westchester, have had experience in community action projects, and have attended graduate school. One has served as a high school teacher.

The program functions in the following manner. Staff members seek to identify participants in the College Careers Program in several ways. Familiar figures in the poorer sections of the County, staff often come into contact with youths in community centers, on street corners, and in bars and poolrooms. Staff members all are or were employed by the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and some of their contacts are made in the Corps' district offices. Participants occasionally refer members of their family or friends to CCP. A few young adults hear about the CCP from news media.

The recruitment phase of the program is directed at gaining the trust and respect of 16 to 24 year old youths, most of whom are male. No tests are administered to them; they fill out no application blanks or other such forms. The staff member simply chats informally with the young adult; his goal is to become a friend of the youth, but a friend who retains his authority as an adult. (Oftentimes, the young adult begins to identify with the "authority figure" image of a staff member. This is especially true of young persons from broken homes or separated from their parents.) During this time, with the full knowledge of the

young adult, the staff member visits school officials, parole officers, the young adult's family, friends, employer, and so on, to learn what he can about the youth.

"Availability," according to one counsellor, is the key to College Careers work. Young adults are encouraged to phone or visit staff members whenever they feel the need or have a problem. Calls to staff members at all hours of the night are not uncommon, and visits are often unannounced. A Counsellor described this as an "open door policy." Relations with adults -- parents, relatives, community leaders -- are more formal.

Over a period of time, according to the Associate Director, the young adults learn when a staff member is likely to be available. Since an important part of the staff member's image is dependability, they try as often as possible to spread the word as to where they will be and when.

As the relationship between the staff member and the young adult matures, the former tries to encourage the youth to take a close, hard look at his life. What is he "doing" now? Are there differences between what he wants to do and what he is doing? If so, what can he do about it? This is the motivation phase of the Program.

Being "in" the CCP is nebulously defined, according to staff members. It is usually a matter of a staff member saying, "I think that College Careers can help you, now that you have an idea of what you want and

are willing to work to get it." If the young adult is prepared to work, College Careers is ready to try and see that he gets the help he needs.

This help sometimes includes tutorial assistance and counselling (See Appendix A); arrangements for school admission and financial aid; transportation to and from school; aid in locating employment; guidance in dealing with parole officers, draft boards and personal relationships; day care for children; legal aid; and more. No problem is considered outside the range of CCP interest. (One participant was given a suspended sentence after conviction for a crime when a College Careers staff member legally adopted him and secured his admission to prep school.) In some cases, staff members report that they "sell" education to the young adult's parents who are fearful about the temporary loss of his earning power.

Placement of a participant is considered to be of the utmost importance. The school should fit the participant as nearly as is educationally and financially possible. Each participant is informed of the choices available to him and urged to make a final decision. Where feasible, the student is taken to visit the school. Often he talks to other youths who attend the institution.

Staff members try to locate schools and colleges that have a special program or flexible curriculum, together with admission requirements that are "realistic" in terms of what qualifications the young adults already possess. Provision for students to "catch up" or "adjust" academically is necessary in almost every case.

If a participant desires to attend college, but is not ready, CCP attempts to help him secure the needed credentials. Financial arrangements -- tuition, room and board, and incidental expenses -- are all considered to be matters which should be handled by CCP. Where scholarships cannot be secured from the institutions or from government funds, the CCP sets about raising the money itself.

Staff members try to stay in touch with participants who are away at school. Calls and letters are exchanged. Staff members may visit a student, talk with his teachers and school officials, and otherwise try to ease the participant's transition through a difficult period. "New" students may be visited two or three times during their first semester, and "returning" students less often. Staff members' vacations and personal leaves are used for such visits. But all students are encouraged to contact a staff member if they find themselves in academic, financial, personal or legal crises.

The visits of CCP staff members to participants' schools are reported to be helpful in gauging the "environment" at the institutions. One result of this has been the phasing out of several schools from the Program when staff members found that they were not nearly as well suited for participants as they first appeared.

CCP PARTICIPANTS

The evaluators were unable to develop a highly reliable profile of the background and other characteristics of the CCP participants. First,

the files of the CCP staff were examined with care but were found to be far from consistent or complete enough to allow analysis, except for budgetary information.[7] The staff is field-and service-centered. Record keeping is viewed as something that would detract from the emphasis on contact, recruitment, counselling and visitation at school, and the participants reinforce this view with their disdain for casework approaches to their needs. Even if record keeping were strengthened, as we would recommend strongly now that the program has matured, new resources would have to be secured to prevent diversion of energies by counsellors away from more vital tasks. Secondly, our questionnaire return from 95 participants out of a potential 160, while more than adequate statistically, may be slightly unrepresentative. Therefore, the following estimates should be taken as mere rough indicators.

About two-thirds of the young adults are men, reflecting a deliberate recruitment policy by the staff as well as an opinion shared by the participants concerning the allegedly greater importance of improving educational opportunities for men. While 97 percent of the questionnaire respondents were black Americans, the interviews and observations indicate an actual ratio closer to 90 percent. Over two-thirds are between 17 and 20 years old, while one in ten is 23 years or older.

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[7]This lack was remedied after the research was completed.

About one-third of the participants live, when not at college, with their mothers and fathers. Twenty-seven percent live in homes where only mothers are present, and 12 percent more live with mothers and relatives other than fathers. Nearly one in ten is already married and lives with spouse, and 9 percent live alone.

About 39 percent of the participants reported the "head of household" as having completed less than a high school education, but the meaning of this is obscured by virtue of the home status of the participants. Only 2 percent listed the head of their household as having graduated from a four year college, while 5 percent report the head as having less than an elementary education.

Data from the questionnaire on "family's total income" are doubtless unreliable, given the variation in meanings attached to both "family" and "total income" and given the lack of information youths have about parental incomes in surveys in general. Nonetheless, the responses support the estimates made by CCP counsellors: 6 percent report incomes below $3,000 a year; 14 percent below $4,000; and 17 percent between $4,000 and $4,900. About 14 percent reported total incomes of less than $2,000, and 13 percent reported incomes in excess of $7,000. Relative to Westchester County income levels, what information we gained from all sources shows CCP participants come from low income families.

The educational histories of participants were too varied and tangled to enable the evaluators to profile them. More than one-fourth of the

participants have been "speaking to CCP," meaning they have been part of the counselling system, for more than two years. Roughly one-third have been participating for one to two years, and one in ten has joined within the last three months. Some participants were high school drop-outs (called pushouts in some circles); some completed a non-college preparatory program. Others have entered the program while still in high school. The one shared educational characteristic, in the view of staff and participants alike, is this: participants are individuals capable of benefitting from further formal education and capable of completing degree or diploma requirements, whose prior school experience has obscured or deflected fulfillment of these capabilities.

COLLEGE CAREERS PROGRAM RETENTION RATE

In the fall of 1967, 20 young adults were sent to 12 post-secondary schools. Of that number, 15 finished the school year. (One student graduated from a business school.) In addition, four high school drop-outs were placed in prep schools, and three finished the year. The overall retention rate was 75 percent for the 1967/68 school year.

In the fall of 1968, 14 students returned for their second year of post-secondary study, and 58 new students started. Sixty finished the year, of whom seven were one or two year graduates. Twelve participants were sent to three prep schools, and eight finished the year. The overall retention rate was 81 percent for the 1968/69 school year.

In September 1969, 58 post-secondary students returned for their second or third years, and 43 started. These students attended 56 different institutions. Of this number, 84 finished the year. In addition, 11 high school students were sent to two prep schools, all of whom finished the year. The overall retention rate was 84 percent for the 1969/70 school year.

This retention rate reflects, in the opinion of the evaluation team, three developments. First, since 1967 the CCP staff members, in collaboration with participants, have become better judges of the types of schools and colleges the young adults are most likely to attend successfully. Some schools have been phased out of the program when it appeared that their personnel and/or programs were not suitable for the type of student with whom College Careers is working. For example, one college administration immediately suspected "those New Yorkers" whenever there was any trouble on its campus. They seemed to believe that young adults from the New York metropolitan area, in the words of one Counsellor, "used drugs, stole, and were liable to get your daughter in trouble." Needless to say, this atmosphere of distrust had a detrimental effect on CCP participants. That College Careers may still have a distance to go in fitting schools to youths is indicated by questionnaire responses. About 20 percent of those responding felt they had little or no part in selecting the school they went to. About 60 percent reported they were attending a school selected by a CCP counsellor because it seemed suited to their

individual educational needs. And, about 50 percent reported they had made one transfer of school or were planning to make a transfer in the future.

Secondly, we suspect that staff members have improved their ability to judge when young adults are truly "ready" for post-secondary education. They seem better able to distinguish the youths who are not only desirous of obtaining this instruction, but who are fully aware of the personal investment in time and energy that is involved.

Thirdly, the quality of the support for participants has improved because staff members have become better able to anticipate problems and more knowledgeable in responding to them. CCP staff members seem to be in close telephone and mail contact with participants away at school, and visits to students were frequent. About 60 percent of those responding said that while they were at school the previous year, CCP staff members wrote or telephoned them on an average of from two to four times a week. Another one-fourth reported contact one or two times a semester. More than one-half reported being visited by a CCP staff member once or twice a semester, and more than three-fourths of the students wrote or telephoned a staff member once or twice a semester or more frequently. We suspect, on the basis of comments by participants during interviews, that visits are made more often than not on an emergency basis. For example, when a participant is charged with violating campus regulations and faces possible suspension or expulsion from school, a CCP staff member will

investigate the matter personally. "New" students attending institutions along the East coast are visited by staff members more frequently.

The evaluation team feels that CCP should not be judged solely on the basis of the statistics cited above. The Program's follow-through capability -- ability to stay with youths through success and failure -- is extraordinarily high. If a young adult drops out of school, he is not "out" of the Program. If he is jailed or drafted into the Armed Forces, he is not "out" of the Program.

Certainly, some youths deliberately cut themselves off from CCP after receiving assistance. In other cases, as one Counsellor put it, "You get tired of trying." But the number of these persons appears to be low compared to those who maintain contact with CCP while in school or out. When prodded in interviews, participants recalled only one or two such cases.

There are cases of young adults who have spoken with CCP staff members but who have not really entered the Program. The staff was quite candid about these persons:

> "Sometimes they are alienated because I have been too pushy, because I didn't treat them as individuals, as self-reliant people. Others hop on the bandwagon when they see their friends 'making it' but disappear when 'the going gets rougher.' Sometimes you just get tired of reaching out to a youngster and have to abandon the attempt. Then there are the youths who see college as a fantasy which they can never obtain. They make a half-hearted stab at getting there, but never convince themselves that they are going to make it. They don't. Finally, there are those whose concerns are so short-run -- six months or so -- that conceptualizing the college experience is more than they can manage. It becomes the thing to do, but only for a little while."

Just how numerous these cases were could not be determined.

The CUE evaluation team was also unable to determine how large the pool of young adults from among whom CCP draws its participants actually is. There seems to be a "waiting list," albeit a very sketchy, informal one, of persons who desire to continue their education, but whom CCP does not have the resources to assist.

In general, using their Neighborhood Youth Corps target areas as a base, College Careers staff members have helped raise the educational aspirations of a large number of young adults with whom they have had contact.

James Coleman's monumental survey, Equality of Educational Opportunity, demonstrated that achievement is highly correlated with that aspect of aspiration which has to do with mastery over one's situation. Coleman asserted, "Minority children have less chance to control their environment than do the majority whites." He went on to demonstrate the relation between feelings of control and individual achievement, when other background differences have been held constant, and he concluded:

> Of all the variables measured in the survey including all measures of family background and all school variables, these attitudes showed the strongest relation to achievement...These attitudinal variables account for more of the variation in achievement than any other set of variables...

Group interviews with CCP students impressed the evaluators more than these questionnaire responses, as the latter are subject to program "halo" effects and the usual tendency to make socially desirable responses.

The interviews, however, revealed youths who were educationally and socially well-informed, realistic in their critical appraisals of their college as well as high school experiences, and firm about their own plans. Their discussions were free of rhetorical "posturing." There was no verbal indignation, no cynicism, no emphasis on hardships, and above all, no passivity. Youths represented themselves as participants in a worthwhile program that deserved their respect and best efforts, but not their deference. CCP is their program and their individual college success or failure is the measure they insist upon. The emphasis upon autonomy -- self-disciplined -- was great.

Below, we have listed the attitude variables to which Coleman was referring. We have shown the responses he got from Northeastern Metropolitan area 12th graders and we have listed the responses we got from CCP participants:

	Coleman Data			
Percent Who Agree That	White	Black	Puerto R.	CCP
Good luck is more important than hard work for success	4	9	19	4
Every time I try to get ahead something or somebody stops me	13	21	30	14
People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life	5	12	19	11

Since 97 percent of our CCP respondents were black youths, their responses should be compared first with Coleman's black sample. CCP youths exhibit a higher feeling of mastery over environment -- to use Coleman's phrase -- than their counterparts. If the comparison were controlled for parents' education and household income, it would be more extreme, as 39 percent of the CCP youths reported that their parents had less than a high school diploma, and 37 percent reported family incomes of less than $5,000 during 1969. (Little reliability should be placed on the latter estimate, however.)

Percent of CCP students Who Agree That:	Percentage
You can fail yourself, but CCP does not fail you.	78
I am able to do many things well.	79
CCP Counsellors really know "what's going down."	72
The tougher the job, the harder I work.	68
Having a college degree is more important than getting a lot of money.	61
What you get out of CCP, you get by yourself; CCP only lays a groundwork.	58
I would make any sacrifice to get ahead in the world.	47
I sometimes feel that I just cannot learn.	30
People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.	19
If I could change, I would be someone different.	12

The above response proportions support both evaluative contentions: CCP students view CCP staff members as highly knowledgeable and dependable. And, encouraged by their CCP-facilitated educational prospects, the students exhibit, in general, an orientation toward school achievement and sustained application of self. Fifty-two percent of the responding students want to attend graduate or professional school, while 86 percent want to complete at least a B.A. or B.S. Sixty-two percent aspire to being "one of the best students" in their colleges. While 83 percent expect to attain B.A. or B.S. degrees, 38 expect to go on through more advanced degree programs!

The level of support provided for participants is extraordinary, and is the backbone of the program. The image of staff "dependability" occurs again and again in both interviews and questionnaires.

Eighty-one percent of the responding students said, "CCP has always helped me when I got into a tight spot." Eighty-three percent felt they could "phone up CCP anytime I need to talk." Fifty-six percent believed that CCP counsellors are all "easy to get along with." And 78 percent reported that "you can fail yourself, but CCP does not fail you." About 62 percent agreed that CCP "has emphasized developing my own values or philosophy."

Knowing that somebody believes in you and will back you to the hilt, regardless of the degree of difficulty for them, is of extreme importance to the participants.

One key to success of the CCP, then, is the personal nature of the Program. Young adults are treated as individuals, as unique cases, and their problems are all of interest to staff members. Students genuinely feel that they can "count on" the Program in a wide variety of personal crises.

The very "success" of the College Careers Program has eased the identification task of the staff. As the Director observed, "As our fame has grown, so have the number of people seeking us out." There is the everpresent danger that the Program will simply skim the "cream" off the top of the poor areas. It would be easier to focus on helping those persons who came to College Careers, for example, with financial or employment problems. The staff members are conscious of this danger, and have no desire to see CCP become a job placement or financial aid agency.

Staff members, instead, continue to "pound the pavement" because the young adults they seek to assist are not as likely to come to CCP on their own. Time spent on the street corner is insurance against the danger described above.

Interestingly, participants seem to jealously guard the Program against its becoming merely a job placement or financial aid agency. They spontaneously brought up this subject in interviews, and asserted that they would let a staff member know if someone was trying to use the CCP for those purposes.

Participants stressed informal recruitment as an important advantage of CCP in interviews. They mistrust forms and statistical records. These methods, after all, are those of the high school official who classified them as persons of lesser ability in previous years.

The young adults were aware that staff members "asked around" about them, but did not seem to resent this. No complaint was made that this was done surreptitiously. As we mentioned before, some participants voluntarily "checked out" newcomers to College Careers.

Though relations between staff members and participants seemed easy at all times, there is little doubt that the former are thought of as adults. Not once did a member of the evaluation team hear a staff member referred to by his or her first name. In a couple of cases, staff members were treated as surrogate parents. Sixty percent reported that CCP counsellors and students are "like a big family."

"Availability" of CCP staff appears to be high, with questionnaire results showing 83 percent who feel they can call or see a counsellor "any time." In an interview, one participant said "You can count on their (staff members) help, but you don't make a habit of it." There was hearty agreement with this point of view. Participants seem sensitive about "doing their own thing," and like the fact that CCP respects the independent tendencies of young adults. They neither see themselves nor want to be seen as "kids," and not running to CCP staff members all the time with your problems is part of being an adult.

There is strong feeling among participants that the system or "establishment" has things stacked against them. Nonetheless, the motivation of participants is high. The idea that life on "the street" is a dead-end comes through strongly. Helping yourself and, perhaps even harder, believing in yourself are accepted by participants as prerequisites for making of life what you want of it. Considering that the young adults are almost unanimously suspicious of the quality of justice in present day society, maintenance of such beliefs is perhaps unusual.

Counsellors seem to have stressed an individual's ability to handle his environment as a crucial aspect of maturity. For example, conforming to official institutional rules at a prep school or college is interpreted as not only necessary, but a valuable life experience. True, the institutions chosen by College Careers are selected because they will, it is hoped, make this adjustment feasible for students. But there are distinct practical limits to the flexible fitting of institutions to a particular young adult. "Sticking it out in a rough spot" is praised. It comes to be seen as a personal victory for the young adult and is a source of pride and self-respect.

Both staff and participants are vocal in their criticism of local public schools. The latter returned again and again to this topic in interviews despite attempts by members of the evaluation team to focus on the Program itself. Each youth had his own stories depicting outright racial

prejudice or condescending attitudes held by local school personnel. (Still, on questionnaires, 59 percent said their high school teachers and guidance counsellors encouraged them to attend college.)

Male participants told of how athletics squads were the only place where blacks were welcomed. As one participant put it, "School officials will put up with anything if you're on 'the team.'" A black football star at his school, he said, cut 102 days of school, roughly two-thirds of the academic year, but was promoted anyway. (Limits on the number of years of eligibility for varsity sports competition make it pointless to hold athletic stars back.)

Another participant, an excellent basketball player who noted his reputation for "getting into trouble," had an English teacher who told him, "If you come to class, "I'll fail you." He took the instructor at his word, almost never attending class, and passed the course.

Motivating individuals who are veterans of this type of treatment is no easy task. It must be remembered that many of the participants in CCP dropped out of high school. The evaluators, however, were very impressed by the new found sense of self-respect manifested by participants. Evidence of this motivation phase of the Program having an effect was cited earlier.

A number of participants spoke about strained relations with former friends and members of their family after being away at school. One young man said that he only came home for brief visits, and others

stressed the need to appear "unchanged" in order to regain acceptance. "People in my community were saying that I thought I was too good for them now," related one participant. The young adults told of intense frustration when returning to a place "where people aren't going anywhere," to communities seemingly ruled by poverty and apathy. On the questionnaire, while 63 percent said their friends at home were "very favorable" toward the CCP, 50 percent said their families talked with CCP staff never or only once or twice a year. Seventy-five percent said their parents were "very favorable" toward the CCP and 46 percent said they would leave school if their parents asked them to support the family.

On the positive side, the fact that participants were "doing something" with themselves made them local celebrities of a sort. Their achievements were spoken of with respect. An interesting sidelight is that blacks in Westchester may have more of an "identity problem" than their peers in New York City. The lack of community feeling, the impression that their homes are tiny islands in a sea of white neighborhoods, was spoken of several times in the interviews. In this regard it is important that 67 percent did not think of CCP as a "white liberal program" though 7 percent did and 25 percent were not sure.

Counsellors are particularly careful, it would seem, to describe to a young adult what he can accomplish rather than telling him what he should do. This sensitivity is, in part at least, the legacy of a public educational system where students are informed what to do, when to do it, and exactly how it is to be done.

In interviews, participants spoke freely about their parents' hesitancy to back them up in disputes with the public school system. Parents were characterized, with only one exception, as suspicious of, or overawed by, school officials to the point where they would not intervene on behalf of their children under any circumstances. However, questionnaire results did not corrobrate this. Fourteen percent of the respondents agreed that their "relatives wouldn't dare go to school to help me out of a tight spot." While 69 percent disagreed, 17 percent were not sure. Only 9 percent felt their "parents are suspicious and afraid of school officials." Another 12 percent were not sure. Some participants were insulted by the tone of these questions.

PERSONNEL

The four staff members who deal directly with participants (Director, Assistant Director, Counselors) are committed to the belief that there is much greater potential in target area youth than schools and society seem to recognize. Their faith in, patience with, and understanding of these young adults was abundantly apparent to the evaluators.

The Director has a demonstrated capacity to administer a complex and controversial program, and an ability to inspire the enthusiastic support of others. She is, however, charged with both administration of CCP and handling of a share of the students. Either of these tasks could be considered a full-time work load, In our judgement, she is overburdened. This state of affairs is highly undesirable in that both of her

areas of responsibility suffer from lack of attention. She admits to being "out of touch" with some of the participants with whom she is charged, and she seemed to experience difficulty in completing some of the administrative tasks connected with this evaluation.

A second crucial difficulty is that the Counsellors (and until recently, the Associate Director) hold two jobs. While there is little question that the Neighborhood Youth Corps and College Careers Program mesh nicely, staff members will probably be unable to continue to provide the support characteristic of the CCP thus far when the enrollment expands to 180 participants in the fall of 1970. Both Counsellors appeared harried by their dual role as Youth Corps and CCP counsellors. Arranging interviews with them was treated as a very special favor by the Director, as though they could scarcely afford to take a couple of hours to discuss their work with the evaluation team. One wonders how Counsellors manage to review or reflect upon participant cases in order to arrive at the best method of handling them. The evaluators found evidence, in short, of personnel shortage. The level of support offered by CCP to participants is bound to suffer eventually, and it is this support that we believe to be the key to success of College Careers efforts.

As the Counsellors admit, their first obligation is to the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). Their work with the CCP is contingent upon an informal understanding with NYC staff -- based upon respect for what College Careers is doing -- that they not be hounded to put in a strict

nine to five day for NYC. A full-time CCP staff would remedy this structural weakness. Furthermore, it would provide job security for the persons performing staff functions, an important factor in their long-term commitment to CCP. Both Counsellors intimated that job security -- in the form of full-time CCP positions -- could well determine how much longer they stayed with the CCP.

Independence from the Youth Corps, in terms of the elimination of the Counsellors dual job role, would probably not hurt CCP's local contacts and would not prevent further cooperation with the NYC. Program work could be done as one staff member put it, "using the back seat of my car for an office."

Program direction is entirely in the hands of the Director; the Board of Directors does not intervene in the day-to-day operation of CCP. Their primary responsibility is fund-raising and policy-making.

The Advisory Committee exists in name only, we believe. It was created to meet a federal requirement on an application for funds. Daily contact of staff members with businessmen, community leaders, educators, parents, government officials, and participants fulfills, in a way, the function of a formal advisory committee. However, it would be helpful to establish a permanent body of this nature in order to provide an ongoing source of advice for the Program that is somewhat independent of it. Such a body could provide formal or informal review of Program objectives and activities.

Racial tension among staff members or among staff and participants was not evident in the interviews. Indeed, one participant of Italian descent said that CCP involvement had "taught me never to hate someone for his color again." College Careers' lack of a white male counsellor is at present a small point. The Program is now centered in black neighborhoods. Perhaps both an Italian-speaking and a Spanish-speaking counsellor would be in order in the long-run. (One Counsellor related that he had experienced difficulty in working in Italian American neighborhoods because of the language barrior.) The immediate and pressing objective, however, is to successfully deal with the commitment CCP has undertaken in black communities.

So far, the College Careers Program has escaped the penalties of bureaucratization -- innumerable forms, appointment schedules, an office-bound staff, and so on. However, much could be done in terms of record keeping so that "participant files" would provide the Program with a better picture of the status of a given young adult. This would enable staff members to discuss or review cases together, thus improving their ability to examine and deal with problems. Members of the evaluation team found that virtually all "records" were kept mentally. If a particular staff member could not be located by a participant, other staff members would be poorly informed of the history of that individual. Better record keeping could eliminate or at least ameliorate confusion and delay in such a case.

Briefly then, College Careers most urgent personnel problem is understaffing. The present staff is at or past its physical and mental limits. This was confirmed by staff members in the interviews.

FINANCES

In Figures 1 and 2 we have recorded the Total Disbursements of the College Careers Fund for fiscal years 1969/70 and (projected) 1970/71. The disbursements are divided into two categories: "Basic School Costs" and "Ancillary Costs."

Basic school costs consist of tuition, room, board, application fees, student transportation to and from school, a small weekly allowance, and books. In short, they include, in our opinion, the most essential expenditures related to the prep-school or college experience.

For fiscal year 1969/70, Basic School Costs were $94,150. During this time, 113 participants in the College Careers Program were in prep school or in college. Projected Basic School Costs for fiscal year 1970/71, when about 180 participants will be in prep school or college, are $59,880. The drop, despite the substantial increase in the number of participants attending school, is attributable to the availability of Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR) grants, funded by the U.S. Government through New York State.

The College Careers Fund did not pay all of the Basic School Costs for its 101 participants who were in college during fiscal year 1969/70.

(Of these, 84 completed the year, and most of the other 17 made it through more than one semester.) In Figure 3, we have attempted to estimate how much of the Basic School Costs for these participants was contributed by college scholarship funds, families and friends of students, private groups, and so on, and did not go through the College Careers Fund treasury. Taking a total estimated cost of basic school expenses per college student of $2,285, and multiplying this by the number of full-year and part-year CCP participants, we arrive at a total estimated Basic School Cost of $217,831. Subtracting the $70,764 the College Careers Fund contributed to the Basic School Costs of the college students in its program, we arrive at a difference of $147,067. Roughly speaking, then, for every dollar "invested" by the College Careers Fund in its college students during fiscal year 1969/70, other sources "invested" two dollars. This ratio is expected to increase in fiscal 1970/71 when the CCP will nearly double the number of college students in its program, most of them supported by DVR grants.

The College Careers Fund almost wholly subsidized the education of its prep school students in fiscal 1969/70. A footnote to Figure 3 indicates the "investment" in these students.

Ancillary Costs are expenses incurred in preparing students, both mentally and physically, for continued education. They include the salaries of staff members (which are minimal), postage, telephone and telegraph, office supplies, legal aid for students, child care for students'

infants, fund raising costs, summer school remedial program tuition, an accountant's fee, and clothing and medical care for participants.

Ancillary Costs for fiscal year 1969/70 were $37,825. Projected Ancillary Costs for fiscal year 1970/71 are $62,145.

Figure 4 gives the Ancillary Cost per pupil of the College Careers Program. The total Ancillary Cost for 1969/70 has been divided by the number of participants who were in prep school or college this past year; the total Ancillary Cost (projected) for 1970/71 has been divided by the number of participants expected to be in prep school or college this fall. Ancillary Cost per pupil in 1969/70 was about $335, and an Ancillary Cost per pupil of $341 is expected during fiscal year 1970/71. Projected Ancillary Costs for fiscal 1970/71 are expected to increase proportionate to the rising number of students in the Program. We suspect that projected Ancillary Costs for fiscal 1970/71 are on the conservative side because they do not take into account inflationary economic trends and allow for only two full-time staff members (Director and Associate Director).

Income appears to be inadequate for the size of the Program. The Assistant Director has just resigned his post as Manpower Coordinator for Westchester County to work full-time for College Careers. It would place the CCP on a much firmer footing if the staff -- Director, Associate Director, both Counsellors, the Public Relations Officer, and the secretary -- could be paid salaries commensurate with the services they provide. With the increasing number of participants in CCP, failure to do so jeopardizes the entire effort.

It is conceivable that CCP will have to provide its own office space and buy its own office supplies as the Program increases in size. At present, income is inadequate to cover these items.

Finally, we have attempted to make a rough estimate of the cost effectiveness of the College Careers Program for 1969/70.

As detailed in Figure 5, a total of $270,500 was "invested" in post-secondary participants who completed a full year of school. This figure was arrived at by taking the estimated Basic School Cost from Figure 3 and adding to it an adjusted 1969/70 Ancillary Cost per student in school for a full or part-year.* This figure was multiplied by the number of full-time post-secondary students.

A similar procedure, using the 2/3 estimated Basic School Cost from Figure 3, was employed to determine that $31,671 was "invested" in post-secondary students who did not complete the 1969/70 academic year.

The 1969/70 CCP budget shows that some $26,436 was spent on the eleven CCP participants in secondary school. Since this included some clothing and medical care, an average Ancillary Cost for these students was fixed at $325. Thus the total investment in prep or secondary school students was $30,011.

If we consider an "investment" in a participant who completes a full year to be a "successful" investment, then 11 percent of the money spent

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*See paragraph on secondary school participants below.

on CCP participants (from all sources) might be considered net loss. Such an estimate of cost effectiveness, of course, fails to take into account that participants who did not complete the year, may nevertheless have accumulated course credits and may still go on to complete their degree requirements. Furthermore, not all students who successfully complete one academic year can be expected to complete degree requirements.

FIGURE 1. DISBURSEMENTS OF COLLEGE CAREERS FUND

August 1, 1969 -- July 31, 1970 (Actual expenditures for 10 months plus June and July projected expenses; 113 students in school)

August 1, 1970 -- July 31, 1971 (Projected; 182 students in school)

ITEM	1969/1970		1970/1971	
BASIC SCHOOL COSTS[1]				
Tuition, room, board, application fees	72,200		46,250[2]	
Student Transportation to and from school	7,200		4,590	
Allowances[3]	11,800		7,060	
School expenses (mainly books)	2,950		1,980	
Subtotal		94,150		59,880

[1]Includes prep school and post-secondary school students. Does not include summer school.

[2]Decrease due to availability of DVR funds.

[3]Generally $10 per week for students whose families cannot provide it. Several students stated in their questionnaires that their allowances were gravely insufficient.

FIGURE 2. DISBURSEMENTS OF COLLEGE CAREERS FUND

ITEM	1969/70		1970/71	
ANCILLARY COSTS				
Clothing	450		750	
Medical expenses[4]	670		750	
Legal aid	0[6]		500	
Counsellors' salaries	9,475		17,670[5]	
Counsellors' transportation	1,050		2,600	
Director's salary	9,075		12,575	
Secretary's salary	3,650		5,200	
Office supplies	250[7]		500	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,730		2,050	
Postage	210		600	
Accountant's fee	550		500	
Fund raising (includes Public Information Officer and fund raising expenses)	5,435		10,980	
Summer School	4,200		6,000	
Misc. (child care for students' infants)	1,080		1,000	
Subtotal		37,825		62,145
TOTAL	131,955		121,025	

[4]Includes examination, treatment, dental work, glasses.

[5]Includes salary of Associate Director.

[6]Donated 1969/70.

[7]Largely donated, 1969/70.

FIGURE 3. "INVESTMENT" IN COLLEGE CAREERS POST-SECONDARY STUDENTS*

Total estimated cost per post-secondary student of Basic School Expenses		
Tuition, room, board application fee	1,700	
Allowance	360	
Transportation	125	
Books	100	
Subtotal I	2,285	
Number of post-secondary students (full-year)	x84	
Subtotal II		191,940
Number post secondary school students (part-year)	1,523	
times 2/3 of estimated full-year cost	x17	
Subtotal III		25,891
Total estimated cost		217,831
Cost to College Careers Fund		
Tuition, room, board, application fee	52,240	
Allowances	8,670	
Transportation	5,440	
Books	2,414	
Subtotal IV		68,764
CONTRIBUTED BY OTHERS (college scholarship funds, students' families, private groups, etc.)		149,067

*The College Careers Fund invested $26,436 in the eleven (11) participants it sent to prep schools during 1969/70. As noted in the text, these students were completely subsidized by the Program.

FIGURE 4. ANCILLARY COST PER PUPIL IN SCHOOL

1969/1970

Ancillary Cost	37,825	=	335
Number of students in school full-year and part-year	113		

1970/1971

Ancillary Cost	62,145	=	339
Number of students in school (projected)	182		

FIGURE 5. COST EFFECTIVENESS 1969/1970

Total investment in post secondary students who completed full year			$220,500
Basic School Cost per tuition, room, board application fee	1,700	2,285	
Allowance	360		
Transportation	125		
Books	100		
Ancillary Cost per		+340	
		2,625	
No. Full-year post-secondary pupils		x84	
Total investment in post-secondary students who completed part year			$31,671
2/3 Basic School Cost per		1,523	
Ancillary Cost per		+340	
		1,863	
No. Part-year post-secondary pupils		x17	
Total investment in secondary school students (all full year)			$30,011
Basic School Cost plus clothing, medical (total)		26,436	
Ancillary Cost per	325		
No. Secondary School students	x11		
	3,575		

SUMMARY

The evaluators reached the following conclusions on the basis of the limited evidence obtained in the course of this short-term evaluation:

1. The College Careers Program addresses a real and substantial need within Westchester County for services and money which, in combination, help close the existing gap between conventional public school services and the formal educational attainment requisite to employability in the county's changing labor market. The Program neither replaces nor substitutes for comprehensive education in high schools, vocational training, or employment practices which include decent wages, on the job training, and the elimination of discrimination. Rather, it provides an important alternative for impoverished minority youths with high individual potential.

2. The College Careers Program has achieved a high retention rate and its rate has improved rather than declined across the life of the program.

3. The College Careers Program is relatively cost effective. While its assistance is comprehensive and the sources of difficulty are great, the program is fiscally well managed and the services yielded per dollar are large and of good quality.

4. There is some evidence to support the conclusion that the following factors, account for much of the success of the College Careers Program:

A. The program evolved out of the more diffuse programs funded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, beginning in 1965. Therefore, the program is indigenous to the county; its staff members are coordinated well with such other programs as the Neighborhood Youth Corps; and there is nothing artificial or transplanted about the effort.

B. The program and the staff make and keep firm and sufficiently broad commitments to the participants, resulting in self-commitment from the latter. The commitment in each case is personal as well as professional: no third party or institution intervenes. The obligations are struck between CCP Counsellor and participant, and they are strong enough to endure strain from without.

C. The young adult participant is effectively served and reciprocates by serving himself. He is matched with an appropriate college or other institution, which is selected because it will suit his needs. He feels he can make changes in place, course of studies, or schedule, without losing his position within the College Careers Program.

D. The young adult participant is reinforced in his quest for autonomy and discouraged in his concern with dependency. He behaves as if he has control over his motives and his situation and the counsellors foster this behavior, including toughminded adjustment to the limitations of campus life and courses of study. The kind of adjustment fostered is neither passive nor submissive, however. Critical thinking is encouraged;

blame-placing on self, others, or institutions, is not. All of this grows out of effective, comprehensive, individualized guidance counselling backed by financial aid.

E. These factors depend for their value upon the Program staff's exercise of sound judgement. The participants are "recruited" or "invited" to take part when in the counsellor's judgement, the youth's potential warrants the attempt. Our study indicates that sound judgements are made but that the staff is so overworked, overextended, and short on office support as to threaten this feature. Participant records are poorly kept; contact with parents and friends is incomplete; and the office sometimes staggers under the workload.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The College Careers Program has reached a crossroad: more dollars must be invested in the program, especially into the professional staff and office support systems, if the retention rate is to be maintained. If the program continues to run on an excess of dedication and a shortage of stable, sufficient funds, faulty judgements in selection and counselling could begin to be made and adjustment strains will intensify.

It is too easy merely to recommend that more dollar support be extended to this program, and we shall not do that. Instead, we wish to argue that College Careers offers the nation a prototype for successful, adaptable programming of post-secondary educational services for

impoverished young adults. It is superior, we believe, to those of programs based in single colleges, where matching is very limited and where counseling cannot be as disinterested in that institutional interests are injected.

Modifications would have to be made from region to region, to be sure, but CCP should be supported as a model deserving replication on a nationwide basis. Indeed, funding should be ample enough not only to make it a model program but to enable research, development, and broad-scale dissemination.

Appendix A

Remedial Education and Testing

Starting in the spring of 1967, the staff of College Careers began to develop remedial education and tutoring programs in cooperation with all the other organizations we could interest in the idea, and utilizing all the resources available. The programs were started in four areas, and three more were added in 1968 and 1969.

In addition, we have used all of the remedial programs developed by other organizations, such as Edu-Cage in White Plains. Edu-Cage is a dropout school which grants academic diplomas or prepares a student to take an equivalency exam. Six of the College Careers' students have secured diplomas through Edu-Cage. CCP has encouraged many more dropouts to attend Edu-Cage -- especially when the young person lives in an area where there are few opportunities, such as in Ossining.

The remedial programs have varied according to the resources of the community. There are as follows:

GREENBURGH

1967 - 1968

Volunteer teachers from the high school were enlisted to tutor students at the Greenburgh Youth Center in the evenings. The quarters were cramped and noisy.

1968 - 1969

Volunteer teachers tutored at an elementary school (Bailey) and were able to use several classrooms. Started Adult Education. In addition, the Community Room of the low-income project was secured for tutoring. Again, volunteer teachers and friends staffed it.

1969 - 1970

Volunteer teachers from the high school and community continued to staff the Community Room. At Bailey School, teachers were paid for conducting Adult Education classes. In addition, tutors from Marymount College (Sisters and students) staffed the Open

Door Center, an Anti-Poverty facility in Greenburgh.

MAMARONECK

1967 - 1968

Volunteer teachers and residents of the community taught students under the direction of a salaried teacher-director. The salary was paid through Title I funds secured from the school district. The classes were held in the local Anti-Poverty Center. In the summer of 1968, Catholic Sisters were transported from New Rochelle each day by the College Careers' staff to tutor students in the CAP Center in Mamaroneck.

1968 - 1969

Again volunteer teachers and residents plus a paid teacher-director staffed the program, but it was moved to an elementary school at the insistence of the school superintendent. Students refused to come. At the middle of the year, it was moved back to the CAP Center. During the summer of 1969, a series of workshops were set up by the College Careers' staff in cooperation with two school districts and two psychiatrists. The workshop was designed to "teach teachers" how to do group counselling and teaching. CCP students were the demonstration students. Many teachers attended and one of the CCP staff members was the moderator for all of the meetings.

1969 - 1970

Again, the volunteer teachers and residents with a paid teacher-director at the CAP Center was the pattern for remedial education.

TARRYTOWN

1967 - 1970

For the first two years, a remedial program was conducted at the CAP Center staffed by members of the community, teachers and Sisters from Marymount College. Last year, some guidance counselors from Tarrytown high school conducted a seminar once a week. In the summers, a group of Marymount Sisters moved into the CAP Center and ran a program which was only partially educational. There is no pre-college work, and more needs to be done in the summer.

EASTCHESTER

1967 - 1970

Title I funds and OEO money have been used to hire all of the remedial personnel. Two to three teachers and a teacher-director have been the staff both winter and summer for tutoring and remedial education. This was set up in cooperation with College Careers and CAP.

WHITE PLAINS

1967 - 1970

Edu-Cage, a dropout school, started in 1967 with 20 or more students. The past school year the enrollment was 100. Edu-Cage has the endorsement of the local high schools and tries to give a full academic experience to the students who wish it. The diploma granted is from the student's local high school. Edu-Cage offers, also, the opportunity to study for an equivalency diploma if desired. College Careers has played a part in the development of Edu-Cage, and a substantial number of our students have attended.

OSSINING

1968 - 1970

Remedial education has been offered in the CAP Center but on a small scale. Most of our Ossining dropouts were supported by College Careers to travel to White Plains to attend Edu-Cage. In 1970-71, however, we are assisting in setting up an Ossining remedial education program, in cooperation with a new CAP director.

PEEKSKILL

1969 - 1970

College Careers started work in Peekskill on a sustained basis last year. The CAP director, with our cooperation, renovated an unused church in the summer of 1969 and remedial education

was developed there last winter. The staff consisted of volunteer teachers and residents. We are working to expand this program.

MT. VERNON

No remedial education has been presented for the dropout or low average student in Mt. Vernon in the past five years. The only offering is adult education classes which are given primarily for new citizens and are not geared to serve disadvantaged Americans. The CAP directors have not set up anything to date. Model Cities has not set up anything to date.

When College Careers' students need additional education, we have secured either teachers or students on a volunteer basis to tutor individually. CCP hopes to work with Model Cities in the near future in starting some remedial education to meet this pressing need.

NEW ROCHELLE

1968 - 1970

Tutoring and remedial education have been offered for two years by the employment director of the CAP program. Classes have been held in the basement of Bathesda Church. Instructors were local college students and teachers. In the fall of 1970, a dropout school is being started in North Avenue Presbyterian Church by a volunteer secured by the employment director. College Careers works with tutors at Bathesda for in-school students, and will work with dropouts at the North Avenue Church School.

SUMMER - 1970

College Careers and Sister Maureen of Marymount College have set up a pre-college remedial school at Marymount. It runs for 8 weeks, Monday through Friday, from nine o'clock to one p.m. Subjects taught are: Reading, Composition, Discussion, and Sociology (for credit). In addition, remedial math has been added. CCP is furnishing transportation for some of its students to attend.

Appendix B

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

ATTENDED BY COLLEGE CAREERS PARTICIPANTS -- 1969 - 1970

Arizona Western College	Yuma, Arizona
Barber-Scotia College	Concord, North Carolina
Bell and Howell School	Union, New Jersey
Bennett College	Greensboro, North Carolina
Blackburn College	Carlinville, Illinois
Boston University	Boston, Massachusetts
Cheyney State College	Cheyney, Pennsylvania
City College of New York	New York, New York
Clarkson College of Technology	Potsdam, New York
Columbia University	New York, New York
Computer Institute	White Plains, New York
Cooperative College Center	Mount Vernon, New York
Cornell University	Ithaca, New York
Delaware State College	Dover, Delaware
Drew University	Madison, New York
Electronics Institute	New York, New York
Findlay College	Findlay, Ohio
Florida A & M University	Tallahassee, Florida
Franconia College	Franconia, New Hampshire
Graham College	Boston, Massachusetts
Herbert, J. Lehman College	New York, New York
Hofstra University	Hempstead, New York
Howard University	Washington, D.C.
Indiana University	Bloomington, Indiana
Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte, North Carolina
Kittrell College	Kittrell, North Carolina
Knoxville College	Knoxville, Tennessee
Long Island University	Brooklyn, New York
Manhattan College	New York, New York
Marymount College	Tarrytown, New York
Midwestern College	Denison, Iowa
Morristown College	Morristown, Tennessee
North Carolina A & T	Greensboro, North Carolina
North Carolina Central College	Durham, North Carolina
New York School of Visual Arts	New York, New York
New York State University	Cobleskill, New York
New York State University, Dutchess Community College	Poughkeepsie, New York
New York State University, Harpur College	Binghamton, New York
New York State University, Mohawk Valley Community College	Utica, New York
[illegible] York University Prep School	New York, New York

Ohio State University	Columbus, Ohio
Paul Dean School of Science	Dallas, Texas
Phoenix New York Art School	New York, New York
Pratt Institute	Brooklyn, New York
Queens Beauty School	White Plains, New York
Saint Augustine's College	Raleigh, North Carolina
Shaw University	Raleigh, North Carolina
Southern Illinois University	Carbondale, Illinois
Southern University	Baton Rouge, Louisiana
University of Colorado	Boulder, Colorado
Valley City State College	Valley City, North Dakota
Virginia State College	Petersburg, Virginia
Virginia Union University	Richmond, Virginia
Westchester Business Institute	White Plains, New York
Westchester Community College	Valhalla, New York
Westmar College	LeMars, Iowa
Winston-Salem College	Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Yankton College	Yankton, South Dakota

STUDENTS HAVE COME FROM THESE

WESTCHESTER COMMUNITIES:

Mt. Vernon
New Rochelle
Mamaroneck
Tuckahoe
White Plains
Tarrytown
Greenburgh
Ossining
Peekskill